727 Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadereri. In [484] the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadereri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of [301] the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebê." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

734 It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

1: Tocantins--76 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
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B 439 648

The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M ● 484

When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

M [411]

At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their malaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M [515]

Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

Mu
484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Mu Following the evening meal, each would string his ham-
[35] mock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches
Mu of branches and leaves.

Mu The Maué and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable ene-
648 mies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

ooo I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand loud voices, now near, now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orches-
Mu tration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the
825 hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.
776 And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maué, heathens of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

ooo Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [161] civilization as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Aritman of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadereri I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemos.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 466 648 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who gives valued objects and who must be given something in return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 609 649 The client-patron relationship applies also to that between the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked late[illegible] in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 648 484 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savannahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are more frequent in September, October, and November when rubber is still being collected and the river has begun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their